THE

12th ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

AMERICAN AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

PRESENTED AT NEW-YORK, MAY 11, 1852;

WITH

The Addresses and Resolutions.

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Annual Meeting.

The Twelfth Annual Meeting of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society was held in the Broadway Tabernacle, on Tuesday, May 11, 1852. The audience was unusually large.

At 3 o'clock P.M., the chair was taken by the President of the Society,

ARTHUR TAPPAN, ESQ.

The exercises were commenced by the reading of the tenth Psalm, by the Rev. Joshua Leavitt.

Prayer was then offered by Professor Whipple.

The Corresponding Secretary, Lewis Tappan, then read extracts from several letters addressed to the Committee, full of expressions of confidence and encouragement, some of them inclosing donations.

One from Rev. John G. Fee, pastor of an anti-slavery church in Kentucky, speaks of the success of the colporteur operations in that State, and the demand for a greatly increased supply of publications. Several from ministers in the Sandwich Islands, covering donations of over $400 to the Anti-Slavery treasury. One from ex-Chief Justice Hornblower, of New-Jersey, deserves special notice. Referring to an address from a number of friends of the Society, not yet published, which had been sent for his consideration, he said :

"Permit me now to say, that in every word of anti-slavery sentiment and doctrine contained in that address, I most cordially and entirely sympathize with you. If I was only sure that I loved God and the blessed Saviour with the same amount and intensity of love with which I hate slavery in all its aspects, influences and concomitants, I should be a more peaceful and happy man than I am. Nor, gentlemen, do I feel less grieved than you do by the course which has been pursued by some of our Protestant divines. It seemed as if they felt themselves all of a sudden called upon to rally in support of the Fugitive Slave Law, with all its odious, inhuman, un-American, unrepublican, and, I hesitate not say, unconstitutional provisions—a law, rather than be compelled to execute which, in all its rigor and in the summary manner in which it has been done by some dignitaries, I would resign the highest judicial station in the country.

"I am no advocate for open resistance to law, but I claim at least a right, while

I quietly submit to its requirements, to condemn, and by argument and all other peaceable and constitutional means, to seek its repeal or modification. But a minister of the gospel, who held to the doctrine of '*no higher law*' than human legislation, whether expressed in the form of statutes or in the more imposing shape of 'constitutions,' has, in my opinion, miserably mistaken his calling. Such divines not only strip the crown of glory from the heads of apostles and martyrs, but come nigh involving our blessed Saviour in the same category."

The Secretary then read an abstract of the Annual Report, and the following

RESOLUTIONS.

Resolved, That American slavery develops cumulative evidence of its sinfulness; its hostility to the peace, union, and prosperity of the country; its disastrous influence upon the religion, social order, literature, and renown of the nation; and therefore all who uphold or approve it, uphold or approve a system inimical to the welfare of man and hateful in the sight of God.

2. That the continuance of slavery at this day, in this Republic, with the number of slaves augmented from half a million to three millions—when our fathers, in obtaining their own freedom, solemnly declared to the world that "all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain *inalienable* rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;" and added, with the solemnity of an oath, "For the support of this DECLARATION, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our SACRED HONOR"—is a reproach to the memory of the revolutionary patriots, a mockery of democratic republicanism, and an insult to the Ruler of nations.

3. That nearly allied to slavery, in meanness and turpitude, is the spirit of CASTE, under the influence of which our colored fellow-citizens are debarred an equality with other citizens before the law, and the opportunity of rising in the community according to their talents, industry, and moral character; a spirit the more reprehensible as we invite to these shores, and admit to all the occupations of society, immigrants of every complexion, condition, and religion from the old world, many of whom possess less Anglo-Saxon blood than do our proscribed fellow-countrymen.

4. That whereas the *Fugitive Slave Act* is, in the opinion of Chief Justice HORNBLOWER, and other eminent jurists, unconstitutional, and, according to the *first* opinion of DANIEL WEBSTER, enacted in opposition to the "plain import" of that instrument; and whereas it not only authorizes seizure without process, trial without a jury, consignment to southern prison-houses upon *ex-parte* testimony, without opportunity of defence, but punishes humanity as a crime, and can be enforced only by outraging all the charities of life, and the great principles of the common law—it is a "Bill of Abominations," and its authors, advocates, and enforcers deserve the severest condemnation, while the Act itself should be every where disobeyed and execrated.

5. That while we would throw no obstacle in the way of our colored citizens emigrating to Sierra Leone, Liberia, California, the West Indies, Canada, or any other portion of the globe, as their enterprise, business, or inclination may lead them, in common with other citizens; and while we will aid them in the accomplishment of their own wishes, we will ever discountenance and oppose all schemes, whether devised by State or National Governments or Colonization Societies, of *coercive* expatriation, and all efforts to place the people of color in such positions that, as a choice of evils, they will consent to leave the land of their birth and their chosen residence.

6. That we deeply sympathize with our colored brethren, throughout the whole land, bond and free, in the peculiar circumstances of trial in which they are placed by the cupidity, tyranny, and contempt of large portions of the people of this country, and that we solemnly pledge to them our best efforts to vindicate their rights, to redress their wrongs, while we exhort them to place implicit confidence in the promises of Him who has declared that he is no respecter of persons, that he is the God of the oppressed, and that he will break the rod of the oppressor.

7. That while we honor those legislators and ministers who have been true to

freedom, we believe that the political and ecclesiastical partisans who have proved recreant to the cause of liberty and humanity, have forfeited all just claim to the confidence of the people, and that no reasonable expectation can be indulged in the prevalence and success of republican or Christian institutions until our citizens carry out the principles of the Declaration of Independence, and the precepts of the Sermon on the Mount.

8. That we call upon the Women of this country for their persuasive influence in the great work of emancipating their sex from the degradation and miseries of slavery, and for their effective aid in the cause of universal liberty; reminding them that it was ELIZABETH HEYRICK who demonstrated to Wilberforce the duty and safety of immediate emancipation; and that, in the recent work of HARRIET BEECHER STOWE, we have a portraiture of American slavery that is read by tens of thousands, causing very many of them to weep and pray, and resolve that they will strive, while life shall last, for its overthrow and annihilation.

9. That the example of the humane and disinterested advocates of freedom, among the editorial and literary corps, is a just rebuke to the subservient individuals and societies who have meanly expurgated their own works, or the works of others, of all sentiments denunciatory of slavery, lest they should be denounced by slaveholders and their apologists.

10. That the thanks of this meeting be given to the friends of the oppressed in Canada, for acting the part of good Samaritans toward the unhappy subjects of oppression who have fled to them for refuge, and to the friends of impartial liberty in England, Canada, the West Indies, and elsewhere, who have strengthened the hands of American abolitionists; and that we entreat them, while they justly rebuke their own countrymen who, on taking up their abode with us, prove recreant to the anti slavery cause, to be equally faithful to Americans among them who affect to be the friends and advocates of emancipation, after being silent or opposed to the cause at home.

11. That for the sake of the slave, for the prosperity of the country, and for the good of the Church of Christ, we earnestly desire the union of all abolitionists, and their harmonious action in behalf of their colored brethren; believing that the highest obligations rest upon the people of these States to remove slavery by moral and political action, and being determined, in the fear of God, and in sympathy with every friend of humanity who will coöperate with us, so far as the means shall be furnished, to enlist the pulpit and the press in the cause of the suffering and the dumb, to aim at a purification of the churches from all participation in the guilt of slavery, to encourage the labor of freemen rather than that of slaves by giving a preference to their productions—sparing no exertions to bring the whole nation to speedy repentance—our trust for victory being in GOD, through whom TRUTH, JUSTICE, REASON, and HUMANITY must and will gloriously triumph.

The meeting was then addressed by Hon. E. D. CULVER, ex-M.C. from Washington county, N.Y., and now residing in this city, who said:

He was aware that those who advocated these resolutions would be denounced in certain political papers, and in one large section of the Union. Some of the sentiments advanced had been forbidden by leading men. Their conduct said, It is perfectly right and constitutional to talk and act, if you will take care to talk and act on the correct side of the question, we being judges; but if you discuss the other side, we will denounce you as agitators and enemies of the country. The question of slavery has been settled, say these wiseacres; the "finality of the Compromise" is a fixed fact. Settled by whom?

But, said he, men will talk now on politics as President FILLMORE talked thirteen years ago, and as DANIEL WEBSTER talked only four years since. And yet it is said, when we talk now as they did then, You are enemies to the Union, you are disunionists. I should like to know, said Mr. Culver, what men mean when they say it is an injustice, and becomes an offense and a violation of duty, to talk upon this subject? Who says so? Do the minority in Congress that passed the Compromise Bills? He said he knew well that a large portion of that minority were under the influence of strong drink. [Cheers and hisses.] Under the influence of strong drink. [Cheers and hisses renewed.] Be quite easy, said Mr. Culver. I speak deliberately. I have

known something how things are done at the capital. The truth is, said he, the Compromise Acts, the settlement of this great question, were "adjusted" by 109 out of 231 members of the House. Settled truly! Was it ever known that an Act of Congress was so sacred that no future Congress was competent to alter it?

He remembered well when, in 1832 and 1836, the question of re-chartering the Bank of the United States was rife, and the whole country and both Houses of Congress were greatly agitated. The Act for re-chartering the Bank was passed, and President JACKSON vetoed the bill. Parties changed, and the Whigs, under President HARRISON, re-chartered the Bank; and you cannot fail, sir, to recollect the note of alarm that was sounded through the country when "Captain" TYLER, who succeeded to the Presidency by the sudden death of General HARRISON, unexpectedly, to the chagrin of his party, vetoed the bill. So, said Mr. Culver, when we passed the Bankrupt Act, the same Congress, in a few months, after the people became excited about it, repealed the law. A similar agitation, the speaker said, has taken place at different periods in relation to the tariff; yet no cry was raised against the right to agitate, and no one pretended to urge that the law was too sacred, as it is now said about the Fugitive Slave Act, to urge for its repeal, although the commotion was so great that it was said then, as it has been since, that the Union would not continue if the agitators succeeded. But we all know, said he, that it is right and perfectly constitutional to oppose a bad law, or move for its repeal; and yet the friends of this "finality" pretend that the Fugitive Slave Act is such a sacred thing that we must not touch it, lest, forsooth, the Union should be dissolved!

Mr. Culver proceeded to speak of the mode in which the Fugitive Act was passed, and took occasion to say that, out of thirty-four representatives in Congress from the State of New-York, only one man was found to vote for this infamous bill. He was the member from Otsego district; and since that his constituents have suspended him, like the coffin of Mahomet, between heaven and earth, so that he has never touched the earth since. [Laughter.] Mr. C. administered a severe castigation to Mr. JAMES BROOKS, the subservient member from this city, who *dodged* when the vote was taken. He, too, is against agitation, and goes for the "finality of the Compromise." Looking at this subject, continued Mr. C., as a lawyer, I insist that the Fugitive Slave Act has no binding force, at least upon a citizen of New York. Go to your statute-book, and you will find that your Legislature has, over and over again, uttered its condemnation in advance of the measures that go to make up the Compromise Acts. He then drew a comparison between the two Senators that represented this State when that atrocious bill was passed. Senator SEWARD felt it to be his duty to stand upon the ground which his own honest, conscientious convictions had marked out for him, the ground that nineteen twentieths of his constituents took on the subject, and he voted against the bill. [Loud cheers.] Senator DICKENSON, on the contrary, acted in accordance, not with the often repeated declarations of the Legislature of his own State, but in unison with certain resolutions that had been drawn up by some of his party, a mere faction. Well, sir, said Mr. C., after the Compromise drama had been enacted, an edict was dispatched from Washington to this State, to the effect that the people must support Dickenson and abandon Seward, but the people did not heed it.

Referring to the Compromise measures, HENRY CLAY said the Southern people ought not to complain, for they were all for their benefit. I ask your attention, said the speaker, to what the North got. Why, is it not well known that we got the slave-trade abolished in the District of Columbia? The fact is, the law that was passed was simply that you should not bring slaves into the District, and put them into a slave pen, with a view to sell them again to go farther South, while any one is allowed to bring as many slaves as he chooses into the District, to be used or sold to residents there. This is what they affect to call the abolition of the slave-trade at the seat of government.

Mr. Culver proceeded to narrate the circumstances under which California and Texas were respectively admitted into the Union. The first came in at the beck of freedom, and the other at the beck of the slave power. California, because she had adopted a Constitution forbidding slavery, was kept knocking at the door of Congress for nine long months; while Texas, being a slave State, came in with a rush.

Mr. C. proceeded to show what had been done by Congress to pacify Texas, and he illustrated the matter as follows. A and B own farms by the side of each other.

B comes with a gang of bullies and lays claim to part of A's land. A resists, and at length they agree to submit the matter to a court and jury. A shows his title deeds and long possession. B cannot show either, but shows a certificate, written by himself that he has a right to the land, and blusters, threatens, and browbeats both the judges and the jurors, until the court instruct the jury that, notwithstanding B is deficient in proof, has not made out either a legal or equitable claim, yet, as he is determined to have a portion of A's farm, and threatens to fight if he does not get it, they had best give a verdict in his favor. The jury, thus advised, give him, not all the land he demands, but a large portion of it, adding a sum of money in addition, to pay him for his trouble, vexation, and expense! What would you say, Mr. President, to such a jury as that? Why, you would throw them into the East River. [Laughter.] This is a true statement of the Texas question. She got two thirds of the land she demanded, and ten millions of dollars beside!

Then with regard to New-Mexico and Utah, new governments were to be erected in these territories. When the day of trial came, only sixty-nine men were found to vote for the Wilmot proviso, although fourteen States had declared themselves in favor of it! How much did freedom gain by that act?

We are told, If you are for the Compromise, you must love the Fugitive Slave Act. Indeed! I have seen, said Mr. C, the practical effects of this enactment, and its agonizing results. Jury trial, or any other security for a fair hearing, even the right of *habeas corpus*, is virtually denied. Did not the half-drunken men who passed that Act know full well that it suppresses that English writ? And then, what a wretched and mean bribe it offers! The unenviable Commissioner, in the case of Horace Preston, fully understands it. [Laughter.] We are told, forsooth, that we must abide by this state of things, because it is the law! The cry of the "Union in danger" is the rock on which this nation seems to be going down. In oyster saloons, and under the inspiration of champagne, is concocted such infamous legislation. Mr. C. then related a pathetic story of a poor fugitive woman, fleeing with her child from her pursuers, because her mother, and her mother's mother, happened to be slaves. He asked, is there a man here who can justify suchdeeds? It is piracy and kidnapping of the worst stamp. It is done under an Act that runs counter to all good feelings. Such a law will not be obeyed. The North has duties to perform, and will maintain them. Mr. C. closed his able and interesting speech, by reminding all those who enacted the law, and all who sustained it, that they must stand at the judgment day before the tribunal of the Most High, to give an account of their agency in devising and executing this infamous Act. He was loudly cheered on resuming his seat.

Rev. J. H. Raymond, of the Baptist denomination, next addressed the audience on the Rights and the Wrongs of his people.

He felt, he said, some diffidence in addressing so large an assembly, especially after the able and eloquent speech of the honorable gentleman who had preceded him; but as he was a colored man, he felt it to be a duty to say a few words when called upon on such an occasion as the present. He said it was a source of regret to him that he could not see the faces of his hearers, but he bowed to the will of God. The resolutions read were of vast importance to his colored brethren. He could not read them, and had to trust to his oblivious memory, but they had made a deep impression upon his mind and heart. The third resolution he remembered with peculiar pleasure. It spoke of Caste as nearly allied to American slavery. It is not a cousin, but a sister to slavery. It was, indeed, exerting a deleterious influence upon his people. Caste was a great enemy of the negro race, but it was no new thing; it began early. Mr. Raymond then alluded to Zipporah, the Ethiopean wife of Moses; to the animosity felt towards her by Miriam, the sister of Moses; to the leprosy sent upon her by God as a punishment of her sin; and to its removal at length on account of the intercession of Moses and Aaron. He then spoke of the Egyptian wife of Solomon, who was an object of scorn to the Jewish ladies among whom she was brought; and the bridal ode, composed by the wise king on the occasion of her nuptials, was a defense of her. She knew that her presence gave umbrage to the fair Hebrew ladies, which they had evinced by sending her to do

out-door work. "I am black, but comely, O ye daughters of Jerusalem, as the tents of Kedar, as the curtains of Solomon. Look not upon me because I am black, because the sun hath looked upon me: my mother's children (the earth's children) were angry with me; they made me the keeper of the vineyards; but mine own vineyard have I not kept." Her defense was, said Mr. Raymond, that the sun had made her features swarthy.

The speaker proceeded to say that Jeremiah, the weeping prophet, in his eighth chapter, says of himself, though he was a fair-complexioned man, that he became *black* through grief "for the hurt of the daughter of my people;" and all know that affections of the mind sometimes change the hue of the skin. Now, said Mr. Raymond, are we to blame for our complexion? People talk of colored persons, but he thought all people were colored: at least, we are all colored here to-day, thank God. I happened, said he, to be born in Virginia. When I was a boy, there was an English doctor, named Holmes, who practised medicine. He was called in to attend a poor black boy. He wore his gloves, and carried a gold headed cane. Will you believe it? He put the end of the cane on the pulse of the sick lad, and then prescribed medicine for him. The boy died, as you might suppose. Was that a way to feel a man's pulse? [Sensation.] Mr. Raymond then related several anecdotes illustrative of the spirit of caste that prevailed in the States. He said there were in Virginia two preachers: Jesse Lee, a white man, and presiding elder, and a colored brother named Samson, who was a far better preacher than the other. At a large religious meeting—it was a love-feast—Samson rose to speak, when Lee called aloud, "Sit down." Samson said, "I won't," and continued to speak in such a strain of eloquence and power, for the Holy Ghost was in him, that Lee was melted, and, on his knees at the altar, confessed his wrong to God and his colored brother.

Mr. Raymond spoke of a public baptism in a river, when one of the colored sisters went down under the ice and was drowned. The white minister took but little notice of it, and said, coolly, "Hand us down another. The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord." This, said Mr. Raymond, is caste. He then related an instance of a white minister who used to address the "black brethren" separately, and only admitted them to the communion, sometimes scraping up the crumbs with his hand, after the white brethren had partaken. He was present one day, and heard him address the colored members of the church, who sat in the gallery. After saying, among other things, "My black brethren, be obedient to your masters," he invited them, after the whites had partaken, to come down stairs to the Lord's table, "for," said he, "God is no respecter of persons." [Sensation.] That was caste. It is crippling the energies of my people, among whom are men who might justly take a stand by the side of any white man, were they permitted to act out the impulses of their nature. Through caste the colored man is borne down by the inswelling flood of immigrants, and our men are well nigh discouraged, and hardly know what to do. But I bless God for this meeting, and the encouraging words of sympathy we have heard. We need your encouragement, and your prayers; we need the voice of the pulpit, and we hope the press will speak for us. We suffer under the prejudices of worldly men; but to be borne down by the prejudices of the Church, and sometimes by the prejudices of professed abolitionists, is very severe. It is contrary to the Word of God.

There have been, said Mr. Raymond, various schemes mooted of late by would-be philanthropists, to get rid of the colored man, and send him back to fatherland. But, blessed be God, this is our fatherland. It is my fatherland; my father was born here. I am an American; so are we all Americans. We all have our kindred in this country, and we know no other. Much is said about Anglo-Saxon blood, and Caucasian blood; but there is such a mixing of blood in this country, that there can hardly be said to be any unmixed blood at all. At any rate, we do not know where to find it. What we do know is this: God "hath made of one blood all nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth." Yet we have prejudices against us; the prejudices not only of the world, but of the Church, of some professing abolitionists. But, if I understood the resolution, a new era is begun. May God grant that every person here present may resolve to do all they can to remove obstructions to the elevation of their dark brethren to their true position. I do not refer, said Mr. Raymond, to amalgamation: God forbid. We do not want intermarriages, but we do want

equality here in the land where we were born. We do not want to go to Canada, or the West Indies, or Liberia, or any where else, except under the voluntary impulse of trade or commerce, or bettering our condition, of which we claim to be the best judges ourselves. Here we were born, and here, in America, we are resolved to live and die. [Applause.]

The concluding address was made by the Rev. HENRY WARD BEECHER.

He said, there was but one impression he desired to leave on the meeting, and that was a religious one. He wished his hearers to feel that this Society had religious principles to support it. It was a cause, he allowed, that stood connected with prejudices, and there might be restless and sinister men connected with it; but it was the religious sentiment that gave life to it. The claims of this Society were not the claims of enthusiasm, nor merely of philanthropy; but they were the claims of men acting for God. There were men of Jesus Christ who were willing to give themselves for the poor and oppressed. Political and irreligious men felt astonished at the tenacity of anti-slavery men; at the endurance and determination of the abolitionists. They did not comprehend it. Like NAPOLEON, who said that he could manage every description of persons except the truly religious man, they marvel that men will risk their reputation, their property, their ease, their time, in combating, year after year, what appears to them an abstraction. They wonder that men will be so fanatical; but, said Mr. Beecher, the greatest fanatics, doubtless, are those of indolence and conservatism. But fanaticism—granting there were some fanatics engaged in the work—was not the prevailing sentiment. Far from it. It was a religious sentiment. It was because the religion of Christ was against oppression, because Christ is a living God, and because his spirit, that led him to give himself for us, inspires his true followers, that such indomitable zeal and perseverance were exhibited, and animated the efforts of the abolitionists. Animated by that spirit, there are men who are willing to give themselves up for the cause. This is the secret of their strength and vitality; and I do not hesitate to declare, said Mr. Beecher, that, governed by that spirit, dearly as I love my own family, I love the cause of God better, and would sacrifice all other interests to it. Asking us, therefore, to give up this cause, is asking us to forswear the spirit that God has breathed into us. There will always be an agitating party in this country while this great subject for agitation remains.

True liberty, said Mr. Beecher, is the lineal descendant of Christianity. Such liberty is not the mere freedom of an animal—that sort of liberty springs from animal causes—but of a social, moral, and religious being. This is the large and true idea of liberty, and where it does not exist liberty goes on crutches. True liberty develops the whole character of man, and it is a necessary inference that all true religion must develop liberty; and therefore it is, said Mr. B., that I shall in my remarks attempt to put the anti-slavery cause on the high ground of Christianity. It was because our fathers were intensely pious men, that there was so wide a difference between us and those who are making experiments in Europe to secure freedom. In Europe, whole masses of the people are open and avowed infidels, having attempted to shake off Christianity altogether. Hence we see there only paroxysms for liberty, but no steady persevering resolve of the nations of continental Europe. Hungary is the most likely to acquire freedom, because she is the most religious. [Applause.] The extraordinary man who has visited this country, not so much as an exile as a conqueror, is her great exponent. He is before the age in this country as a religious politician, perhaps only equal to it in his own. His great principles neither the press, nor the people, nor even the pulpit of this country can accept or understand. The day may come when it will be found that KOSSUTH is right, and that church-founding America is wrong, because she does not understand the religion she professes and attempts to teach.

The liberty and elevation of the colored man, said the speaker, is not to me a question of politics, but of religion. One strong objection he made to slavery was, that in its nature it was not possible that the slave should be developed to manhood as God meant he should be, while held in bondage; for though there may be a few individual exceptions, you cannot convert them, or elevate them as a people.

There are three millions and a half in this country, and the effect of the gospel on the first generation to whom it shall be faithfully preached is scarcely seen; but in the second generation it will produce its legitimate fruits. The moment the slave is enlightened by the gospel he cannot be held in bondage. [Applause.] You cannot make him who believes that Christ died for him afraid of his fellow-man. Therefore it is that slaveholders, acting consistently according to their principles, keep the slaves in mental darkness; they know full well that the light would set them free. If education, said the speaker, would have this effect, how much more the gospel! Now this is found out, and the same rigorous rule will soon be adopted in reference to the gospel, that is now adopted in regard to education.

Mr. Beecher said he had heard Christian ministers say that the gospel was conservative. It is the very reverse. The radical idea of Christianity is just the opposite: it is *growth*, not conservatism. When it begins, it increases and advances, on and on. The gospel does not say, Be content with present accomplishment, but, Go ye and preach, and extend its influences. Where this spirit exists, there will be agitations and no system of conservatism or expediency can allay them. The mind of man is capable of infinite expansion. There would be anti-slavery agitation as long as the central fire of Christianity was in the breast of Christian people, just as the central fires in the earth are the cause of earthquakes. Mr. B. said he would turn to every class of anti-slavery men, and agree with them so long as they held on to the doctrine of the redemption of man by Jesus Christ. He was free to confess that he could not agree with some abolitionists, who took what he deemed impracticable and unscriptural ground; yet he would say that he honored men, however incorrect he might deem them in some things, and those important ones too, who, for the sake of a principle, important in their estimation and therefore dear to them, were willing for year after year to make such sacrifices. He was thankful that, in such an age and in such communities as these, there were men who were willing to sacrifice popularity and self to what they received as a cardinal principle.

The speaker said, he would not have cohort ministers to preach from their pulpits, as he deemed it his duty to do, at dining tables, anti-slavery sentiments; he must leave that to their sense of duty, in the fear of God; but, said he, is it asking too much of them, and of all Christians, to remember in their prayers the lowly, and to feel for those in bonds as bound with them? He said he believed that the free North owes a far greater debt to the black man than to provide ships to send him to Africa; and that when he found men, ministers too, coming to the colored man and saying, You can't rise in this country, with an emphasis that means, You shan't rise here, he could have no sympathy with it, nor with any professed benevolence that says, Get you gone to Africa! Elevate the colored man here, and then, if they please, they will go to Africa. He did not stand on this platform to malign the Colonization Society, but he would say to the free people of color, Here is your home, your birth-place, and your country; if you choose, stay here. He abhorred that spurious charity that comes to a black man, as a sheriff comes with a process, to remove him whether he will or not. This sending men to Africa with a writ of ejectment he had no confidence in, none whatever. He would conclude by saying—and considering the uncertainty of life, it might be the last opportunity he would have in this place to say it—pray for the slave, pray for the slave-owner, pray for (not for God, though he be his sole proprietor) the master. Discharge your heart of all bitterness toward him, pray that God will open his eyes, open the way for the freedom of the slave; for he can do it; and, believe me, Christ will not lose the opportunity of giving his gospel this triumph. Let it be understood that we are Anti-Slavery because we are are Christian.

After this address, and a highly interesting and satisfactory session of about three hours, the resolutions were adopted, and the meeting was adjourned, to meet for the choice of officers, discussion, &c., to-morrow, at 9 o'clock A. M., in the lecture-room of the Broadway Tabernacle.

Annual Report.

During the past year, the Committee have published a second edition of "An Anti-Slavery Manual; or, the Wrongs of American Slavery exposed by the light of the Bible and of Facts; with a Remedy for the Evil." This work was revised by the author, has been stereotyped, and a large edition published, primarily with a view to its open distribution in slave States. Two pamphlets, entitled "The Sinfulness of Slaveholding," and "Non-Fellowship with Slaveholders, the Duty of Christians," have also been stereotyped, and circulated in Kentucky and elsewhere. These valuable works, written by a native of Kentucky, have, as the Committee have reason to believe, done much good, not only in the slave States, but in portions of the free States, where moral darkness on the subject of American slavery, the interpretation of some portions of the Bible, and the duty of Christians, prevails almost to as great an extent as in the slave States themselves.

A large edition of the last Annual Report, with the Proceedings at the Anniversary, was printed and widely distributed. From various quarters the Committee have learned that this pamphlet was well received, extensively read, and was the means of awakening a new interest in behalf of the Anti-Slavery cause.

Large numbers of the Liberty Almanac, published by the Committee, have been ordered by the friends of the Society throughout the country.

The Depository and Reading-Room, where the anti-slavery publications of the day, English and American, are regularly received, have been continued, and many have availed themselves of the advantages offered by them.

In this connection the Committee are gratified to be able to state that the circulation of the *American Missionary* and the *National Era*, both off-shoots of this Society, has been regularly increasing, so that the regular issues of each publication are now about seventeen thousand

copies, and that these valuable papers are essentially promoting the anti-slavery cause in this country and throughout the world.

The Agent of the Society in New-Mexico still remains in that territory, and is devoting his time to the interests of freedom by lectures, diffusion of publications, correspondence with leading newspapers in the free States, and other instrumentalities.

The Corresponding Secretary attended the "National Convention of the Friends of Freedom," in Cleveland, Ohio, September 24th, where animating speeches were delivered, excellent resolutions adopted, and a committee of one in each State appointed to call a Convention for the nomination of candidates for the office of President and Vice-President of the United States, at some convenient place, during the ensuing summer. Anti-slavery men, of various opinions, who agree with the founders of the first National Association in this country for the overthrow of slavery, in their declaration in 1833, that there are "the highest obligations resting upon the people of the free States to remove slavery by moral and *political* action," composed the Convention, and will, we trust, compose the one soon to be held.

The Secretary had also the privilege of attending the "Religious Convention of Maine," at Augusta, January 21st, where resolutions of a high character were adopted, able addresses made, and a committee appointed to prepare and publish an address to the Christians of Maine, respecting their duties with reference to American slavery, to call future meetings, and devise other measures. He has devoted much time to correspondence with anti-slavery brethren in England, Canada and the United States, and other countries; to the collection, preparation, and publication of anti-slavery essays; to the circulation of intelligence to as great an extent as his health, and the funds of the Society, would admit; and to intercourse with gentlemen interested in the great question of slavery and the slave-trade from Europe, the West Indies, and other parts of the world.

The visit to this country and Canada of JOHN SCOBLE, Esq., Secretary of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, last autumn, in the opportunity it offered of a free interchange of information and the views of the Executive Committees of both Societies, so long mutually coöperating for the universal extinction of slavery and the slave-trade, was highly interesting and valuable.

On the arrival of the Governor of Hungary, LOUIS KOSSUTH, the Committee presented an address to the illustrious exile, which was courteously received. In this address, the Committee embodied some of the most remarkable declarations of the exiled statesman on the rights of man, applicable to the state of things in this country, and were thus enabled to

give them an extensive circulation with the high authority of his name. As an act of courtesy, after the declaration of KOSSUTH that he did not wish to be entangled in difficulties by appealing to ally himself with any party in this country, the delegation that presented the address deemed it proper to inform him distinctly that they expected no response, thus leaving it to him to utter his own views on the subject of American slavery at such time, and under such circumstances, as he might see fit. KOSSUTH, in his reply, virtually recognized and reäffirmed the noble sentiments uttered by him before he visited this country, and which had been incorporated into the address. The Committee cannot but express their acknowledgments to him for the prompt and manly rebuke he administered to REUBEN H. WALWORTH, late Chancellor of the State of New-York, at Washington, when that gentleman attempted to cast a slur upon the anti-slavery citizens of the United States, by erroneously accusing them of seeking improperly to obtain from KOSSUTH an expression of opinion upon the question of American slavery.

Among the testimonials of confidence and sympathy received by the Committee the past year, none have been more gratifying than the letters received from MESSRS. GREEN, BALDWIN, COAN, RICHARDSON, and GULICK, missionaries at the Sandwich Islands, accompanied by about four hundred dollars, collected in their churches—composed chiefly of persons converted from heathenism to Christianity since the commencement of the anti-slavery struggle—for the promotion of the anti-slavery cause, the protection and relief of persons arrested as fugitive slaves, and as a testimony of their sympathy in the great and good work in which, they say, all true Christian freemen should be engaged.

In taking a brief review of the cause during the past year, we notice first the workings of the Fugitive Slave Act, which has been called "the most infernal libel on the name of law which any legislature has ever enacted." A small number of persons, alleged to be fugitive slaves, have been arrested in the free States, brought before Commissioners or Judges, adjudged to be slaves, manacled, and, at the expense of the National Government, sent into bondage. The last case in this city was that of Horace Preston. The Commissioner has been severely censured, but he appears to have administered the Act according to the meaning and intention of its framers. He deserves censure, then, for administering at all such an unconstitutional and diabolical enactment, rather than for the fidelity with which he aimed to carry out, with legal strictness, its infamous provisions. The informers, counsel, commissioners, judges, marshals, and police, who act in these cases, are but the instruments of the slaveholders and their Northern allies who framed the Act, all of whom deservedly receive the indignant censure and contempt of every

one who understands and reverences the law of God, the Constitution of the country, his personal rights, and the rights of his fellow-men.

The last case that has come to our knowledge is that of a man who, on resisting an officer from Maryland sent to take him into slavery, was by him shot down dead in the midst of his friends, and the people of Columbia, Penn. The Act authorizing these arrests is held in such abhorrence by the people of the free States, that we cannot expect it to be executed without the spilling of blood. As, however, the Act is the legitimate result of slavery, a daring attempt of slaveholders to extend the influence of the hateful system over the whole country, an evidence of the willingness of aspiring politicians and other interested persons to sacrifice principle to secure the coöperation of the South in their schemes of ambition and profit, and a determination to sustain slavery at all hazards, the horrible atrocities committed under it tend to open the eyes of the people, and prepare them to throw off the accursed system. At the same time, the distress and ruin of so many colored persons, families, and churches, occasioned by the operation of this cruel and inhuman Act, excite the grief and indignation of every person conversant with the facts, who is not dead to feelings of humanity and justice.

In the famous Christiana case, the Administration, after an expense, it is said, of some seventy thousand dollars from the public treasury, has been signally defeated in its attempt to substantiate the charge of treason against the thirty-eight citizens of Pennsylvania who were indicted for "levying war against the United States," but who, it was proved, had been merely lookers-on, when the slaveholder Gorsuch was killed, in his assault upon a company of colored persons, for the purpose of seizing and reducing to slavery one of their number, whom he claimed as his slave.

The indignant feelings of that portion of the community who are sufficiently free from political and ecclesiastical ties to value human rights and paramount obligations to God, have found expression in resolutions that have been adopted by conventions and other meetings, held in various places in the free States, to consider what duties are imposed upon Christians and patriots in reference to slavery in our country. These resolutions reiterate the truths so often announced, that the leading political parties and religious sects are recreant to the cause of liberty, republicanism, and Christianity; that the Church is responsible for the continuance of slavery; that the Fugitive Slave Act should, in all cases, be disobeyed; and that the friends of freedom and religion should adopt such measures as would effectually promote the cause of humanity and freedom.

The slave States, alarmed at the increase of free people of color, and justly believing that, as the disparity in numbers between them and the

slaves is lessened, slavery will be weakened, have been multiplying their enactments with a view to drive them from their limits, and have found abettors, we regret to say, among the chief magistrates and legislators of some of the free States. Indiana has distinguished herself by introducing into her Constitution a prohibitory clause against persons of color becoming residents or citizens of that State, in violation, as is believed, of the Constitution of the United States. This flagrant attempt to persecute and disfranchise the people of color should receive the condemnation of every generous mind in the country, and of every civilized nation on earth. It cannot be denied that more powerful agencies are employed than heretofore, to get rid of this portion of our citizens, by direct or indirect measures. The natural result has been to alarm and exasperate the victims of this cruel oppression. But it appears to be the solemn determination of the free people of color, as a body, to resist all schemes of expatriation, acquire education, property, and a knowledge of agriculture and useful mechanic arts, and thus to rise to respectability and competency in the country of their birth, as Divine Providence may afford them the opportunity. In such laudable pursuits we trust all the true friends of the colored man, whether he be bond or free, will cordially unite, and afford such substantial aid as may be justly desired.

Neither our own fellow-citizens, nor the friends of the colored portion of our population in other countries, have been wanting in sympathy and effective aid to the free, and to the self-emancipated, who have needed assistance. Their sympathy and aid will, there is every reason to believe, continue to be liberally afforded, as the law of God and the claims of humanity require. And, we trust, the British Government will extend its paternal care over the large number of American citizens who have fled to Canada, in quest of personal freedom and an opportunity to labor for themselves and the country that shields them from oppression. The "Anti-Slavery Society for Canada" and the "Ladies' Association," both located at Toronto, have done nobly in behalf of the fugitives and universal liberty, and are entitled to the gratitude of all the friends of humanity.

The Colonization Societies are making new and strenuous efforts for the removal of colored citizens to Africa, and it is evident that unwonted zeal has been manifested, while liberal donations have been secured, to accomplish the object. Individuals among the anti-slavery ranks, once hostile to the expatriation of people of color, and still inimical to what they deem the cruel policy of the Society, have recommended their emigration to Liberia; and the question is asked with earnestness, Why oppose the colored people in establishing a nationality on the coast of Africa? We oppose no voluntary and unforced emigration to Africa, California,

the West Indies, Canada, or elsewhere. For ten years past, the friends of this Society have aided the anti-slavery mission at Kaw-Mendi, and seen with pleasure both white and colored men and women going to that country, to educate and Christianize the inhabitants. But we have ever been averse to measures that fostered prejudice, and placed the people of color in a position that obliged them to choose between two evils, and virtually forced them from the land of their birth and choice. We have believed, also, that the continuance of educated men of color in this country was a great service, not only to the enslaved, by giving them hope, but to their free colored friends, and to the country itself. We still believe so; and the description of citizens referred to, with great unanimity, have resolved on continuing the experiment in this country whether industry, education, and moral conduct will not insure them a respectable standing, the right of citizenship, and the privileges of Christians. Most heartily do we proffer them our sympathy and assistance, and most earnestly would we call upon the humane portion of our countrymen, especially upon the Church of Christ, to afford liberal and efficient aid to the people of color in their efforts to rise here, under all the disadvantages in which they are placed. Instead of considering them as exotics and "nuisances," capable of elevation only in another hemisphere, let them be looked upon as fellow-citizens and fellow-immortals, entitled by the Gospel and the Constitution to the same privileges and inheritance with ourselves.

A distinguished politician has declared that the law of nature forbade the introduction of slavery into California and New-Mexico; but he overlooked, in his haste to attain personal aggrandizement, what history and observation have taught, that slavery on this continent originated in Mexico, and that gold-producing countries have ever been considered unfavorable to liberty. The country near the Pacific is not an exemption from the general rule, as is seen by the attempts making to force slavery into the new State and the new territory, and to divide California, with a view to add another slave State to the Union. The eyes of the people of the free States should be kept steadily fixed upon the persons who are insidiously at work to accomplish the object in view; and both the government of California and that of the United States should be watched with untiring vigilance, to prevent the consummation of this scheme of villainy. This is the more necessary, since there is reason to believe that the General Government connives at the attempt to introduce slavery into both California and New-Mexico. Its appointments and other acts, from the commencement, furnish evidence of this, as do the pro-slavery acts of the persons appointed to office that go unrebuked. Governor Calhoun, in his message to the Legislature of New-Mexico, used language at once false and insulting with regard to free people of color, and audaciously recom-

merded the passage of a law to prevent their entrance into the territory.

OREGON, also, has passed an act prohibiting "negroes and mulattoes" from coming to or residing in the territory; and, on the Chief Justice deciding the act to be constitutional and valid, a colored man, the defendant in the case before him, was ordered to leave the territory within thirty days! Such is the influence exerted over the officers of this new territory, and the Administration that appointed them, by the slave-power.

The Governor of UTAH, however, in his annual message, speaks in terms of decided disapprobation of the infamous practice of the Mexican population of New-Mexico and California purchasing Indian children for slaves, and of their attempts to extend their traffic into the limits of the Utah territory, while he protests against all "dealing with human flesh as property." The Mormons, whatever may be said of their principles or morals, appear to have too exalted a sense of justice and humanity to tolerate slavery.

The slave States, alarmed at the prevalence of anti-slavery sentiment in the country, sensitive to the rebukes of the civilized world, and viewing with dread the increase of free people of color, have adopted the policy of mitigating the condition of the slaves, while they have passed harsh and stringent laws on the subject of emancipating them, and for the exclusion of colored persons coming from other States. Individuals, feeling compunctions of conscience, especially in view of death, emancipate their slaves, generally on condition that they go to Liberia, and frequently make provision for the expense of their removal. Occasionally slaves are emancipated by will, with liberty to go to the free States or elsewhere, and means are liberally provided to enable them to do so. This course is so unpopular at the South, that pains are taken falsely to represent the condition of such persons when free, as in the case of the slaves liberated by the will of JOHN RANDOLPH, worse than when they were in bondage.

Lynch law, as it is called, continues to prevail at the South. Ministers of the gospel, performing missionary labor, have been roughly treated, and expelled from slave States; colporteurs, suspected of circulating publications adverse to slavery, have been brutally used; and Northern citizens, who are suspected of sympathizing too closely with bondmen, or who utter anti-slavery sentiments, have been summarily ejected. Even the jurisprudence of the South is, in some respects, but little in advance of Lynch law. Judge Larue, of Louisiana, made an admission full of meaning, when, recently, he instructed a grand jury that hard labor in the penitentiary was no punishment at all to a slave; and in accordance with this remark, we have lately seen that while a wealthy Virginian, on being convicted of whipping one of his slaves to death, has been sentenced to the peniten-

tiary for five years, a wretched slave-girl who, having disobeyed a brutal overseer, had, in self-defense, stabbed the monster, has been sentenced to be hanged!

Kidnapping is carried on in the free States to a greater extent than is generally supposed. The Fugitive Slave Act affords new facilities to its success. Colored persons are taken to the South, some under false pretenses, and some by force, and sold as slaves. It is believed that villains at the North, and some of them wearing the badge of office, are often acting in concert with Southern miscreants in this atrocious business.

The British Government has taken such effective measures for the protection of her colored seamen, who have hitherto been imprisoned in the Southern cities, while the vessels to which they belong remain in port, that the States of South Carolina and Louisiana are mitigating the stringency of their laws on the subject. Already the latter State has provided that such seamen from foreign countries may land for their necessary duties, with passports from the Mayor. South Carolina seems disposed to adopt a similar modification, while she proposes to forbid, under heavy penalties, colored seamen entering her ports at all, taking the hint, it is presumed, from the Constitutions of Indiana and Illinois. It has been well said that it is not surprising that this new indignity should be meditated, with reference to the colored seamen of the free States, encouraged as it is by the submission with which the previous ones have been received by the governments thereof; but it is believed that if such a law is passed, it will necessarily bring this contention between the free and slave States to a judicial determination in the courts of the United States.

The condition of the South claims the pity as well as the censure of the North. While slavery subjects its victims to cruelty, ignorance, degradation, and spiritual darkness, it fills the master with terror, surrounds him and his family with untold evils, and makes them more miserable, mentally at least, than the poor slave. The Gospel is not fully and faithfully preached in slave communities. Ministers and officers of churches are implicated in the guilt of slavery, and families are reared amidst all its contaminations. Christianity has but a feeble hold upon the people, especially the male population. Supposed conversions, both among the whites and blacks, are too frequently spurious. Men in public life are generally unprincipled and reckless. Impoverishment and decay are visible on every side, and much of the apparent and actual prosperity is the result of Northern enterprise, conducted by men temporarily residing in the South.

Under these circumstances, it is natural to inquire, What are the people of the North doing for the removal of such a great calamity to the South; such a direful curse to the whole country? Our politicians, of

both the great parties, appear ready to submit to the "finality of the Compromise," even to an acquiescence with the Fugitive Slave Act, rather than be detached from their political friends at the South, and fail in the election of a President who will distribute to hungry partisans the "loaves and fishes" of office; although large numbers of their representatives in Congress, when the Fugitive Slave Act was passed, and more recently, when the resolution in the House respecting "the finality of the Compromise" was under consideration, shrunk from the responsibility of voting, leaving the resolution last referred to, to be carried by a majority of *one* in the non-slaveholding States, and a majority of *thirty-four* in the slaveholding States. Too many of our religious men, while they profess to abhor slavery, especially the Fugitive Slave Act, are indifferent or opposed to anti-slavery efforts. The AMERICAN TRACT SOCIETY, and the AMERICAN SUNDAY-SCHOOL UNION, refuse to publish any work on the sinfulness of American slavery, and carefully expurgate all sentiments offensive to the South in its reprints of foreign publications. The AMERICAN HOME MISSIONARY SOCIETY supports upwards of sixty missionaries in connection with churches that receive slaveholders in their communion. The AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS allow their missionaries among the Indians to organize and superintend churches composed, in part, of slaveholders and slaves. The PRESBYTERIAN GENERAL ASSEMBLY, (O. S.,) and the CUMBERLAND PRESBYTERIAN GENERAL ASSEMBLY refuse to legislate on the subject of slavery, on the plea that, as spiritual bodies, they have no cognizance of civil matters. The PRESBYTERIAN GENERAL ASSEMBLY, (N.S.,) while they have borne testimony against the evils of slavery, and assert that they should be corrected by discipline, admit slaveholders to a seat in their council, and treat them in all respects "*recti in ecclesia.*" Other denominations, with some noble exceptions, participate in such sentiments and practices, and thus strengthen the hands of pro-slavery ministers at the South, who pretend to defend the system of slavery from the Bible.

The pro-slavery conduct of political men, born and educated in the free States, is a subject of mortification and deep regret; but when ministers of the gospel and influential members of churches stand aloof from, or inveigh against the anti-slavery cause, it is sufficient to cause angels to weep. We rejoice to know that, in so many instances, men of this class are rebuked when in foreign countries, and that others who have ever refrained from taking any part in the cause of emancipation here, on visiting Europe, to avoid deserved censure and neglect, are forced to assume the character and adopt the language of abolitionists. We wish it could be said that all anti-slavery men abroad, when the true character

of such men has been revealed, instead of shielding and defending them in their reprehensible course, expose and condemn it.

Amidst such discouragements, it is cheering to know that there are dissentients among the societies, missionary boards, and ecclesiastical assemblies, who oppose the will of the majority, and that there are hundreds of ministers of different denominations, many churches, and some associations, who have taken decided ground against slavery. The FREE-WILL BAPTISTS are thoroughly anti-slavery, as are the WESLEYAN METHODISTS. The SOCIETY OF FRIENDS professes to be, and some of them are so, both in theory and practice. The REFORMED PRESBYTERIAN, and the ASSOCIATE REFORMED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES, are, it is well known, anti-slavery in principle. Large portions of the METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH are out-spoken abolitionists. We rejoice that upwards of ninety missionaries and teachers in the free and slave States of this country, in Canada, in Jamaica, in Western Africa, in the Sandwich Islands, and in Siam, sustained by the AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION and its AUXILIARIES, a society founded by the friends and officers of the AMERICAN AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, are openly and faithfully inculcating the anti-slavery principles of Scripture with abundant success, in connection with the missionaries and teachers of a few other societies; an example worthy of imitation by all missionaries and teachers of the religion of Him who came to preach the gospel to the poor, to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, recovery of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised. It is highly gratifying to the friends of freedom to know that a large number of the students in the colleges and theological seminaries of the country are thinking for themselves on the great subject of human rights, as well as on other subjects connected with the welfare of man and the glory of God, with a determination to use the light that is imparted to them, untrammelled by authority or usage that is inconsistent with the two great commandments in the Law.

It is a pleasing consideration that we have, both in Congress and the State Legislatures, men worthy of their ancestors, able defenders of the privileges they have inherited, and of the rights of all their fellow-citizens. It is a matter of gratulation, also, that conventions of the friends of freedom are held from time to time, in which expression is given with regard to the anti-slavery sentiment that widely pervades the community. These conventions, when composed of men who are decidedly in favor of divorcing the General Government from all participation in upholding human bondage, and abolishing it wherever Congress has jurisdiction over the same, must do incalculable good, and in time produce a material change in the political condition of the country. The National Convention of the Friends of Freedom will, we hope, organize a political party

on such principles that it will include all the anti-slavery electors of the country. Such a party, conducted with disinterested, enlightened, and consistent views, would increase, and finally sway the affairs of the nation.

Several of the political newspapers and other publications of the country are discussing the character and bearings of slavery with boldness and ability; some of the most distinguished religious papers are valiant for the truth; while the numerous avowed abolition papers are unceasing in their advocacy of emancipation and the rights of man. It gives us peculiar pleasure to mention a work of unsurpassed genius and ability that has recently appeared, giving a portraiture of slavery in its most lenient as well as in its most hideous form, entitled, "Uncle Tom's Cabin, or Life among the Lowly," by Mrs. HARRIET BEECHER STOWE. This work is obtaining a wide circulation, is calculated to do immense good, and will, we trust, under the Divine blessing, accomplish much for the slave, for the country, and for Christianity. The author is not a Colonizationist, though she is in favor of some of the talented young men of color going to Liberia to assist in establishing a nationality there. In this she differs from many friends of the people of color. It is hoped that this successful effort will encourage the women of this country in rendering their efficient aid to rescue the enslaved of their sex from degradation and misery, and in promoting the general interests of the cause.

The people of color have, during the year, held conventions, discussed subjects of interest, and adopted resolutions that have arrested the attention and secured the respect of their fellow-citizens. They are more than ever impressed with the importance of remaining in this country, laboring in agricultural and in mechanical employments, educating their children and youth, and securing the confidence and respect of their countrymen by deserving them. So far as they accomplish these objects, will the spirit of prejudice be rebuked: and, in time, with the downfall of slavery, be annihilated. At the NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL CONVENTION, held at Albany during the last year, this prejudice was signally rebuked. Several colored delegates from auxiliary bodies presented their credentials for seats. They were violently opposed. The subject was referred to a committee, a majority of whom reported against the reception of the credentials of the colored delegates. A stormy discussion ensued, when the credentials were received by the vote of a large majority.

Our coadjutors of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY have continued their able career, and the publication of their interesting and useful organ, the *Reporter*. Other societies have been organized in England, Scotland, and Ireland, that promise to be efficient co-workers. The intelligence, respecting the workings of emancipation in the British

colonies, is highly encouraging. Instead of being dependent on imported supplies, they now subsist, to a much greater extent than formerly, from the soil. The conduct of the emancipated classes is commendable; and were a comparison to be made between their present and their previous state, it would, we are assured, be found that no people on earth ever made greater progress in the same length of time. The PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT is said to be preparing to decree the entire extinction of slavery in its possessions, as also more stringent measures for suppressing the traffic generally on the coast of Africa. The slave-trade has greatly diminished in BRAZIL, owing to the course taken by England with that power; and it is evident that there is a relaxation of the system of slavery throughout the civilized world. The opinion of mankind is against it; and though it may be rampant awhile, yet, being a doomed institution, it will expire before the progress of public opinion and the fiat of the Almighty.

Among the deaths in the anti-slavery ranks the past year, the Committee would notice that of the late venerable ISAAC T. HOPPER, an early, fearless, and indefatigable laborer in the cause. He was emphatically the colored man's friend; their welfare lay near his heart; and he labored for them in season and out of season, with unusual intelligence, adroitness, and success.

The Committee notice, with much satisfaction, that an ADDRESS has recently appeared, signed by several influential citizens, highly approving the principles and measures of this Society, and commending it to the favor and liberal support of the community. They indulge the hope that this appeal may be so responded to, that the funds and influence of the Society will be greatly increased.

The Committee do not despond. On the contrary, they believe there has been no period since the commencement of the anti-slavery struggle when there was more need of agitation, or the united, resolute, and persevering exertions of the friends of the cause. For the accomplishment of the objects of the Society, funds are requisite; and the Committee would earnestly appeal to the members of the Society, and to anti-slavery friends every where, for the sinews of this moral warfare. The Committee appeal to ministers of the gospel, and to the churches, to pray for the cause, and contribute means to carry it on in a way corresponding to its importance, and to the whole band of missionaries sustained by the churches in this country, to examine into the principles of our association, commend the cause to their flocks, and unite with them in affording their prayerful and pecuniary assistance, while they labor to deliver one sixth part of the people of the United States from heathenism as dark and deadly as prevails in any part of the world. Commending the cause to the favor and

blessing of God, they conclude this report in the eloquent words of Lord MORPETH respecting slavery in the United States, uttered after his visit to different parts of the country:

"The crowning evil, the capital danger, the mortal plague-spot, is slavery. I have not disclaimed the original responsibility of my own country in introducing and riveting it upon her dependencies. I do not disguise the portentous difficulties in the way of adequate remedy to the great and growing disease. But I cannot shut my eyes on this fact, that while it lasts, it must still continue, in addition to the actual amount of suffering and wrong which it entails on the enslaved, to operate with terrible reaction on the dominant class, to blunt the moral sense, to sap domestic virtue, to degrade independent industry, to check the onward march of enterprise, to sow the seeds of suspicion, alarm, and vengeance in both internal and external intercourse, to distract the national counsels, to threaten the permanence of the Union, and to leave a brand, a by-word, and a jest upon the name of freedom."

From such a deplorable, disgraceful, and ruinous state of things, may it be the devout aspiration of every CHRISTIAN and PATRIOT in the land, GOOD LORD, DELIVER US!

Business Meeting.

Agreeably to adjournment yesterday, a meeting of the Society and friends of the slave was held in the lecture-room of the Broadway Tabernacle, May 12th, at 8 o'clock A.M. The President and Vice-Presidents of the Society being absent, the chair was occupied by James Warner, Esq.

In the absence of the Recording Secretary, Rev. Charles B. Ray, Dr. James McCune Smith was appointed Secretary *pro tem.*

Prayer was offered by Rev. William L. Colman, of Bellevue, Iowa.

Messrs. S. S. Jocelyn, Duncan Dunbar, and W. L. Colman were appointed a Committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year.

On motion, it was

Resolved, That the Annual Report, of which an abstract was read at the meeting yesterday, be published under the direction of the Executive Committee.

Resolved, That all ladies and gentlemen present, whether members of the Society or not, be invited to participate in the proceedings.

Lewis Tappan submitted the following resolution:

Resolved, That we venerate the memory of our deceased brother, Isaac T. Hopper, whose able, disinterested, and successful labors on behalf of the slave were the distinguishing characteristics of his long and useful life, and will embalm his memory in the hearts of both bond and free, while stern integrity of purpose and indomitable perseverance in philanthropy shall be appreciated and honored.

The mover said he had had the privilege of being acquainted with the deceased friend many years, and he had been well known not only to all the abolitionists of this city and vicinity, and to large numbers elsewhere, but to nearly all who were engaged in philanthropic efforts of any kind; for Mr. Hopper was a man of enlarged and varied benevolence. It had been said by Joseph Bonaparte, when in this country, that he resembled the Emperor Napoleon. He was truly a Napoleon in philanthropy. He was also the architect of success in all the departments of benevolence to which he devoted himself. He did not agree with some of those engaged with him in the anti-slavery cause in all their religious opinions, but he gave practical evidence of his love to his fellow-men, and thus exhibited an example worthy of the imitation of all who knew him. They all honored his career of benevolence, and venerated his memory.

Dr. Smith said he was gratified when the gentleman who preceded him paused, and omitted to say, "architect of his own *fortune*." We must go to a higher law for an explanation of what Mr. Hopper was; he was the architect of something higher than fortune.

The resolution was unanimously adopted, and the Secretary was directed to send a copy to the bereaved family of the deceased, and to publish it in the daily papers.

The following resolution was offered, and adopted without discussion:

Resolved, That the progress of anti-slavery sentiment in this country, and the present aspects of the anti-slavery cause, while they call for devout gratitude to the God of the oppressed, should call forth active exertion, and liberal contributions on the part of every man and woman in the country who prizes liberty, and considers it the birthright of every fellow-creature.

The following resolution was then offered:

Resolved, That the Executive Committee be instructed to employ agents and lecturers, to appeal for funds, circulate information, and adopt vigorous measures for the advancement of the cause.

Mr. JOCELYN advocated the resolution. We had, he said, suffered for want of lecturers and agents. No association prospered unless it employed agents to diffuse information and collect funds; and we must have agents to do this, and keep alive the anti-slavery spirit. We must educate the rising generation to anti-slavery principles, before slavery will be abolished—before we can succeed—unless God should work a miracle, which he did not expect.

Rev. Mr. RANKIN, of Connecticut, was in favor of agents; and he wished that, in addition to agents for the masses, we could send out agents of high qualifications, who could move the eminent men in the community. It often happened that an inferior class of men were employed on such a service; but this cause required men of ability and character, and we ought to have them, even if it requires a large outlay of money.

Rev. DUNCAN DUNBAR regretted that this Society had been so behind hand in this matter of agents. The employment of active and energetic agents was, in his opinion, absolutely necessary. The means were abundant, and suitable agents could draw the gold into the Society's treasury. When he reflected upon the meeting yesterday—and seldom had he seen so influential a meeting—he was anxious to follow up the doings by a system of agencies that would supply the wants of the Society in the promotion of the great objects it contemplated.

Rev. Mr. CHENEY thought the Society wanted agents who would go to the great body of the people rather than agents of high talent. What we desire is, that our principles be carried to every school-district in the land; that steady, working men should be employed to reach the hearts of the people with our publications, and especially with the living voice. Men of high talent will not ordinarily engage unless the crowd is first on their side; then they will join.

The discussion was here suspended, while Mr. JOCELYN, on behalf of the Committee on Nominations, made their report, as follows:—

President.—ARTHUR TAPPAN.
Vice-Presidents.—F. JULIUS LE MOYNE and WILLIAM JAY.
Corresponding Secretary.—LEWIS TAPPAN.
Recording Secretary.—JAMES MCCUNE SMITH, M.D.
Treasurer.—WILLIAM E. WHITING.

Executive Committee.—Arthur Tappan, S. S. Jocelyn, William Jay, Lewis Tappan, William E. Whiting, Joshua Leavitt, S. E. Cornish, James Warner, Alexander Macdonald, Arnold Buffum, George Whipple, Thomas Ritter, J. W. C. Pennington, E. D. Culver, D. C. Lansing, Henry Belden, and A. N. Freeman.

Corresponding Members.—Joseph Sturge, George William Alexander, Samuel Bowly, John Scoble, and Thomas Harvey, Esqs., Rev. James Carlile, D.D., and Rev. J. Howard Hinton, of England; Professor Ackersdyke, Utrecht, Holland; Dr. Carové, Frankfort, Germany; M. Isambert, Paris; M. D'Instant, Hayti; W. W. Anderson, Esq., Jamaica; Rev. John Galloway, New-Brunswick; J. H. Collins, Esq., Illinois; Hon. S. C. Stevens, Indiana; Hon. S. P. Chase, Ohio; Professor C. D. Cleveland, Pennsylvania; William Goodell, New-York; Rev. G. W. Perkins, Connecticut; John G. Whittier, Massachusetts; Rev. Dr. Willis, of Toronto, Canada; and Thomas Jones, Esq., of Barbadoes.

The report was adopted, and thus the above-named persons were elected officers of the Society for the ensuing year.

The discussion on the resolution was then resumed.

Mr. TAPPAN said he agreed with Mr. Cheney. Still, if, in addition to men adapted to the great body of the people, the Society had funds to employ men of more influence with the classes alluded to by Mr. Rankin, it would be well. He then adverted to an Address prepared by some friends of the Society, recommending it to public favor, a few copies of which had been laid on the Secretary's table for distribution. It had been sent to more than a hundred gentlemen, in different parts of the country, for their signatures; and it had operated also as a feeler of public sentiment. He understood that some forty or more persons had signed it, and that it would soon be published, with their names. Some gentlemen had not signed it, owing to exceptions taken to a few sentences, and others for various reasons. Mr. Tappan also spoke in favor of increased efforts, new publications, more liberality on the part of abolitionists, and a revival of the spirit that pervaded the anti-slavery men, women, and children of the country in years past.

Mr. ARNOLD BUFFUM advocated the resolution, and spoke of the necessity imposed on those who had the means to labor for the three millions of the inhabitants of this country, who had no tongues of their own to tell their wrongs. He said it was the duty of the Society to send forth agents to plead their cause, and speak in their behalf.

Mr. E. D. HORTON, of Wisconsin, spoke of the efforts making in his State for the promotion of the cause. There all take hold of the work. They demand that the churches deliver themselves from all connection with slavery. Still, for general purposes, he thought agencies very necessary, and he also coincided with the remarks made by Mr. Cheney. Men are wanted to go from house to house, with bundles of anti-slavery pamphlets, like the colporteurs of the Tract Society, to do also what they did not do, talk in favor of the colored pagans in the slave States.

The resolution was then adopted.

Dr. SMITH then introduced the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the warm thanks of this meeting be presented to Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe, for writing the inimitably beautiful and truthful story, called "Uncle Tom's Cabin," and that we rejoice that the Almighty is awakening the finest literary talent of the country to lay its best offerings on the altar of human freedom.

Resolved, That we call upon the women of the United States earnestly and zealously to follow in the glorious path laid out for them by Harriet Beecher Stowe, Grace Greenwood, and Lydia M. Child.

Dr. SMITH eulogized "Uncle Tom's Cabin," and said its success—unexampled as it was—proved the depth and the breadth of the anti-slavery feeling in this country. The writer had touched a vein richer than California gold, and would be followed

by a host of imitators. If there was romance in the country, it was in the relations between masters and slaves, and in the mixed relations growing out of them. He then proceeded, at some length, to criticise the critic of the *Literary World*, who had turned this beautiful story into ridicule, while it puffed a work of fiction, on the other side, without merit or invention.

Mr. TAPPAN said Mr. Jewett had sold about a thousand copies of the work every day since it was published, or 50,000 copies in eight weeks—a sale that was unparalleled in this country, and, he believed, in the whole world. The author was present at the meeting yesterday. She intends employing her gifted mind still further in behalf of the down-trodden in this land. Doubtless there will be imitators, as Dr. Smith has observed. A Boston bookseller informed him that a distinguished gentleman in Massachusetts had already commenced a work, to be entitled the FUGITIVE SLAVE.

DR. SMITH.—It is suggested by a gentleman near me that it is DANIEL WEBSTER. (Great laughter.)

Mr. TAPPAN, in continuation, said, the women of the country can do much for the anti-slavery cause, and they have done nobly. Mrs. Child's work, "An Appeal on behalf of Americans called Africans," did much good. When published, abolitionists did what many are now doing with Mrs. Stowe's work, gave or loaned them to their friends, and to other persons whom they could persuade to read them. In the very title of the work there is genius. There were other anti-slavery women who were laboring in the cause of general philanthropy. He instanced Mrs. Nicholson, whose "Ireland's Welcome to the Stranger," and "Famine in Ireland," have exerted a good influence; for the Irish, though not black, suffered great wrongs, and he was happy to perceive that the respected authoress was present. He then mentioned several facts, showing the extraordinary interest taken in Mrs. Stowe's "Life of the Lowly." Some, he said, called it a fiction, but it was a narrative of facts, in the form of a work of fiction. He said a person had told him that he could not believe several of the stories; and he mentioned the escape of Eliza across the Ohio river, as being altogether too incredible.

MR. COOK.—It is true; I knew the man who helped her out of the river.

Mr. TAPPAN continued. He said a lawyer in this city, a member of the UNION SAFETY COMMITTEE, told him, pleasantly, that he verily feared "Uncle Tom's Cabin" would break down the Committee! (Great laughter.) Now, said Mr. T. after so much good seed has been sown so widely by that publication, is the time to employ agents to go through the country and gather the fruit.

Dr. RITTER and Rev. CHARLES B. RAY made some remarks with reference to circulating the work, the importance of having a cheaper edition, &c.; after which the resolutions were adopted.

A COLLECTION.

Mr. TAPPAN said: A friend, who is present, has put into my hands an excellent resolution, which he appears too modest to offer himself, and therefore he should offer it in his behalf. It contains the words, "Pay the bearer twenty-five dollars." (Cheers.) He hoped the resolution would be seconded and carried unanimously.

DR. RITTER.—I second the resolution.

Mr. A. Macdonald and Dr. Ritter were then appointed a committee to take up a collection for the cause. They soon reported that the sum collected was $87, and that a gentleman had agreed to pay $500 towards carrying out the suggestions made for employing agents, &c., should the Committee enter upon a vigorous course of action in pursuance thereof.

Mr. GEORGE DOWNING moved the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the fundamental idea of an American Anti-Slavery Society, is the common brotherhood of the free and the enslaved; and to accomplish for both free and the enslaved the possession of equal civil and religious privileges in this their common country.

Resolved, That these essential ideas of anti-slavery are antagonistic to colonization, or the organized migration of any man from these United States, for the special object of obtaining civil or religious freedom, or the free exercise of his faculties in any way.*

The mover believed that abolitionists were not taking the high ground they formerly did against the colonization scheme. Mr. Beecher said yesterday, he believed the motives of some of the colonizationists were good. He could not agree to that. He said he asked for no favor, but he demanded liberty as a right. The same principle that led to striking him down, led to striking down the white man also. The sale of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" is a proof of the extensiveness of anti-slavery sentiment.

Mr. TAPPAN said he was not surprised at the sensitiveness of colored men on this subject. If he were a colored man, he should probably feel as much or more. In reference to colonizationists, he thought it would not do to ascribe bad motives to such men as Chief-Justice HORNBLOWER, whose letter was read at the meeting yesterday. With regard to the advice given George, near the close of Mrs. Stowe's book, to go to Liberia, he was sorry it was inserted; but the author is not a colonizationist. Her idea is, that some of our talented young men might advantageously go to Liberia to form a nationality there, independently of any Colonization Society. She repudiates all coercive measures for the expatriation of either bond or free. Still, he regretted she had said any thing on the subject in her valuable work.

Rev. JOHN RANKIN, of Ohio, said he was sorry to have the colonization question ever introduced into their meetings. It did great mischief. The object of the great mass of the advocates of colonization undoubtedly was, to make it a safety-valve, to prevent the boat from being blown up by the pressure of too much steam. We ought to repudiate the very name of colonization. It was a slander on the gospel of Jesus Christ, to say that men cannot be elevated here. In the colonization States they would allow their children to play with dogs, but not with colored children. When he first came to Ohio, no man could be elected to an office who avowed himself in favor of slavery or colonization; but, after the Colonization Society became popular, not an abolitionist could be elected to any office. Such was the influence of the Colonization Society in Ohio. The colored population were regarded by some as perfect nuisances. He thought, therefore, that this Society ought to avoid talking about colonization at all. The gospel makes all men equal. Instead of colonizing, let us evangelize blacks and whites together.

Mr. RAY feared the resolution adopted yesterday would be misunderstood or misrepresented. It would, he feared, be used by some colonizationists as Mr. Birney's address was. That had, in his opinion, done much harm. He was entirely opposed to any colored man going to Liberia voluntarily or otherwise.

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* These resolutions, together with a third that was eventually laid on the table, underwent full discussion, involving the merits of the Colonization Society. It was thought, at first, by some of the brethren, that the third resolution, adopted yesterday, favored that Society, and that the last chapter of "Uncle Tom's Cabin or Life among the Lowly," had the same aspect. Explanations, were made, after which the mover proposed to modify his other resolution; but, with his consent, it was finally laid upon the table; therefore the debate, so far as it relates to that resolution, is omitted.

Rev. J. B. GRINNELL said he differed from brother Ray. The Colonization Society had changed its tactics, and Liberia is not now under the direct influence of that Society. The people were independent. He was willing that the colored man should have an opportunity there to prove what he could do. If the colonizationists will stick to their constitution, afford aid only to those who sincerely desire to try their fortunes at Liberia, he, for one, would throw no obstacles in their way.

Dr. SMITH said he was glad this discussion had taken place. Whatever poison there was in the resolution had now its antidote. Abolitionists had been complained of by some colored men, because they had not afforded them the material aid they had expected. They had thought that all that was necessary was to contend for the manhood of black men. This they have done, and he thought it was all that could be reasonably expected. No colored man had a right to expect to be treated better than white men. He said that he had said nothing about the advice given to colored men in Mrs. Stowe's book, when he moved the resolution of thanks, and he was too thankful for the sunlight to be finding fault with its spots. For one, he wanted no props. Let them all be taken from the colored people. He should be glad to see the last prop removed, so that they would stand forth in their own manhood. There is a manhood in the colored race here in the United States, but it is seen by few in the community that surrounds them. They wish us to go to Africa, to erect gorgeous temples, and to have governorships. They are so blind that they do not see the great throbbings of humanity in the hearts of black men here in their midst.

Professor WHIPPLE said, he agreed with the two resolutions offered by Mr. Downing. The Committee had, in individuals, assisted colored men in this country some had given thousands of dollars. ARTHUR TAPPAN had given $10,000 to the Oberlin Institute, because it admitted colored men. He now saw in the room a man (Rev. CHARLES AVERY, of Alleghany City, Pa.,) who had given $20,000 to build a seminary for colored people. All that the resolution adopted yesterday meant was, that they would not oppose colored men going to Africa, as they would not oppose white men. It may not have been wise to have introduced it at all, but, if it were an error, it was one of the head and not of the heart.

Mr. DOWNING said, he denied that there is any more favorable home for the colored man than this country. The colored man does not want you to elevate him. He must do that himself. He only wants fair play. He did not think the abolitionists sufficiently assist the colored man. When they rise above circumstances, their white friends do not rally around them.

Mr. GRINNELL said, he thought colored men should rely upon themselves. He was, the other day, in an omnibus, where he saw two colored ladies enter it. They were stared at in the beginning, but they held their ground, and ultimately they were not noticed more than the other passengers. He conversed with them and found them intelligent.

Mr. EDWARD V. CLARK (colored jeweller) said, abolitionists did not encourage colored men in business as they did white men. Offers were made to the members of the Executive Committee by colored men, to enter their commercial houses, and also into offices under the Committee in connection with the Society, but they were rejected.

DR. RITTER.—I have hired a colored clerk.

MR. CLARKE.—Yes, that may be an instance that is an exception. But I have known a respectable young man who was refused. Wherever the colored man is connected with the houses of these gentlemen, it is as the lowest drudges. If a

colored man enters as a porter in the store of Mr. Tappan, does he advance him afterwards according to his merits? I want no favor, as a colored man; and if any one offers it to me because I am a colored man, it is an impudent insult, and I reject it. The last vestige of prejudice has yet to fall.

Mr. TAPPAN said he had, when in business, a colored young man in his office as a porter, and he told him that if he would qualify himself he would give him a situation as a clerk. He left his employment before he had qualified himself. He would have offered him the situation if all the other clerks had left. I would, said Mr. Tappan, not ask an Irishman sawing wood in the street, and covered with sweat, to come in and eat with my family. Neither would I a colored man, though I have been accused of it. I challenge any one to show that I ever slighted any man because he was a colored man. I have been always accused of a leaning the other way. I have been told, You have invited that colored man because he is a colored man. No, I replied, but because he is a gentleman, and knows as much as you.

Dr. SMITH referred to a case where an abolitionist had, under some pretense, declined loaning a colored young man several hundreds of dollars to enable him to establish a drug store, after he had obtained a diploma in college; and it had been reported that LEWIS TAPPAN had rejected a colored captain who offered his services to take the Amistad Africans to their native country, on the plea that he was not acquainted with the coast of Africa, while a white captain was engaged who had never been to Africa.

Mr. TAPPAN said that the report alluded to was incorrect. The Committee made inquiries about vessels for Africa, while deliberating whether to charter a vessel or to send the Amistad Africans as passengers by some vessel trading to the coast. They chose the latter, the captain of which had been familiar with the coast. He regretted that such stories should be reported among the colored people, but he was glad Dr. Smith had alluded to them to put all abolitionists on their guard, and induce them to act out, at all times, the principles they professed.

The resolutions were adopted.

Mr. JOCELYN offered the following resolution, which was adopted:

Resolved, That the friends of the oppressed be urged to unite, in their various localities, in the organization of male and female auxiliaries to the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and in efficient labor in behalf of the cause.

The meeting then adjourned *sine die*.

(Attest,) JAMES McCUNE SMITH, *Recording Secretary*.